

5328

A

---

# LETTER

To the Right Honourable  
*Robert Walpole, Esq; &c.*

---

(Price One Shilling.)



2  
K

# A LETTER

To the Right Honourable  
*Robert Walpole, Esq;*

Occasioned by  
**His late Promotion**  
To the OFFICES of  
**First Lord of the Treasury,**  
A N D  
**Chancellor of the Exchequer.**

Wherein is contained, A short View of  
the Characters of the present Ministry,  
and of the Wisdom and Justice of their  
Proceedings at this Juncture.

As also, a State of the scandalous and trea-  
sonable Practices of the Tory-Faction, in  
Parliament, and elsewhere; since His  
Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne.

Together with  
The Characters of their Leaders and chief  
Managers; from the late D. of O—  
down to Mr. H—

---

*By a Member of the House of Commons.*

---

L O N D O N,

Printed and Sold by J. Baker, at the Black-  
Boy in Pater-Noster-Row, 1716.

THE BIBLE



# *A LETTER to the Right Honourable ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq; &c.*

*SIR,*



Hough this comes from one, who has the Honour of your Acquaintance, and has for some Years been a *Witness* and *Admirer* of your *Behaviour in Parliament*; yet I assure you it is not intended to *flatter* you, or to *make coart* to you, now you are *in Power*. For having no *Favour*, or *Place*, to ask, and designing to *conceal my Name*, I could have no end in flattering you, if I were *mean* enough to be guilty of it; and besides, I know any thing of that kind must create the highest Indignation in a *Person* of your *good Sense*.

B

You

You will please therefore to consider what is here said, as the *impartial Opinion* of one, who has had some Opportunity of knowing *Men*; and by his *Seat in Parliament*, could not but observe the *Principles and Views*, on which the *Leaders of the Two contending Parties* have acted, and by *Consequence* must know their *Characters*.

Perhaps it may be thought extraordinary, that I should pretend to give any Account of *publick Affairs* to a *Person*, who is himself engaged in the *Administration* of them, and who, by that means, must be better versed in all their *Circumstances*, than a *Man* who professes himself unpractised in *Business*, any otherwise than as a *Member of the House of Commons*. But I hope it will not be thought altogether *Impertinent*, when you consider, that notwithstanding we (who *live in the Country*) are *unacquainted* with the *Secret Counsels of the Cabinet*, yet we have however better Opportunities of understanding what Effect the *Administration of the Government* hath

hath on the Minds of the People, than you who are *concerned in it*. And since it is by the *good and bad Opinion of the People*, that *Ministers of State in this Island* must stand and fall, as much as by the *Approbation and Dislike of their Sovereign*; I think it is no *unfriendly, or improper Office*, in a *Well-wisher to his Country*, to tell you in this *nice Juncture*, and in telling you, to tell *other great Men*, who act *in concert* with you; what *Figure* you all make out of the *Cabinet* and the *Houses of Parliament*; what *Satisfaction* your *Proceedings* give to *those*, who are in *Principle* with you; and how your *Reputations* and *Characters* stand in *Competition* with *those* that *oppose* you. This is no *unprofitable Knowledge*, and may be received by the *greatest and most enlarged Genius*, such as *yours* is justly confessed to be, from a Person of the *meanest and most ordinary Capacity*, such as I am sure I have too much reason to think my own.

Give me leave then to congratulate the *Promotion* of all *those*, whom his *Majesty* hath been pleased to call *his*

Councils, and particularly your Advancement to the Head of the Treasury, in the Name of the Majority, and of the best and honestest Part of the Nation. For, believe me Sir, they have an entire Confidence, that, as by your exact knowledge of the Nature of the publick Revenue, you will be enabled; so by your Care and indefatigable Industry and Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and the Good and Ease of your Country, you will endeavour to Rescue and Retrieve it from that Confusion and miserable Condition it was left in by the Earl of O-f-d, who, if he did not now stand charged by the Commons of Great-Britain for High Treason, and almost all other high Crimes and Misdemeanors against the State, he would, in the Judgment of any Man, that wishes well to his Country, or understands the Interest of it, deserve an Impeachment for his scandalous Neglect in the Office of Lord Treasurer; which (tho' a Post in its Nature of the greatest Fatigue and Multiplicity of Business, as well as of the greatest Honour and Power of any in the Kingdom) he never thought fit to Execute, but in *an hurry*, or when he was drunk,

drunk, seldom attending his Duty above an *Hour* in a Day, which was always the most *unseasonable* he could choose. And then his Manner of doing Business was, to *shuffle* it off for the present, and to refer all *Petitions* and *Demands* that were immediately within his own Province, and which he only could determine, to the *Commissioners of other Offices*, who could do nothing in them ; but being *subordinate to the Treasury*, and *Tools of his own making*, they were to spend Time in puzzling themselves, and the People, whose Affairs were referred to them. All which was to end in making a *Report* to his Lordship, that they had *examined the Matter*, but could do nothing in it ; and therefore *humbly submitted* the whole to his *greater and more profound Wisdom*. Thus he *dishonoured* the Trust her late *Majesty* had reposed in him, and gratified a *crooked, perverse and villainous Temper*, in obstructing *Justice* he knew not how to *distribute*, and in oppressing those he ought to have relieved, as well for his own *private Ease*, as for the *publick Service*. But I forbear attempting this *Man's Character* ;

raſter ; because it hath been so often described, and is so well known to all the Nation, and especially to *you*, that it would be but waſting your Time to dwell upon it. I ſhall on-ly ſay, that I believe you, who have had the beſt Opportunity (by being *Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy*) of examining into his Actions, can hardly determine whether *the Fool* or *the Knaue* hath the greater Share in his Composition, or whether he is more to be deploſed, as *a weak Mi-niſter*, or hated as *a wicked one*.

But, Sir, as I was ſaying, we have no doubt but that we ſhall ſoon ſee the happy Effects of *your Management of the Treasury*. And nothing can be more reasonably grounded than these our *Expectations* are. For you have the united Talents of *two very great Men*, your *Predeceſſors*, the late *Earls of Godolphin and Halifax*, whose *Me-mories* will be ever eſteemed by all true Lovers of their Country, and whose *Loss* could only be repaired by a *Genius* like *yours* : You have the *Vivacity* and *fine Parts* of the one, and the *deep Judgment* and *Penetrati-*

on

on of the other. From whence, I say, we have no doubt, but that we shall see the *Money-Affair* of this Kingdom (on which you know all others depend) settled in a *just and regular Oeconomy*. We shall see the ancient and excellent Method of the *Exchequer restored*, and pursued in all its *Parts and Forms*. You will do *Justice*, and give *Dispatch*, to those who have *generously trusted the Publick in Times of Danger and Difficulty*; you will take care that all the *Fonds* shall be duly applied to the *Uses* for which they were granted by *Parliament*. You will, in a Word, be a *just Steward to your Prince*, and by a *due and legal Collection of the Taxes already granted*, make them less *burthensome* to your *Fellow-Subjects*, than of late they have been. And since 'tis likely there will be Occasion for *new ones*, you will contrive, that they shall be *such*, as do not *oppress the Poor*, and carry the *Marks of Tyranny and arbitrary Power* upon them: We shall have no *South-Sea-Trade*, nor other *vain Chimera's invented to draw Money out of Mens Pockets*. But you will propose *good and substantial*

stantial Fonds, which will answer Interest, and encourage his Majesty's loyal Subjects to make Loans upon them. From others, you expect nothing but *Clamour* and *Opposition*. For, no doubt, when the Parliament meets to do Business, and his Majesty shall be forced to ask for more Supplies than he is willing to lay on his People; You will be told by the *Male-Contents in the House*, that an Increase of Taxes will be grievous to the Nation, and that it is an hard Demand in his Majesty, considering the Debts we lie under. All which would be sure abstracted from our present Circumstances. But *honest Men* will consider them, and not be afraid of giving their Votes cheerfully for granting what Supplies his Majesty shall judge proper to ask, and will choose rather to give a small Part of their, and their Fellow-Subjects Estates, for the Security of their Religion and Liberty, than to lose the whole, and be over-run with *Popery* and *Slavery*. They will impute the Hardship (if there be any) to those wicked Men, who, by their Treason and Rebellion, have caused the Necessity

sity of them, and on whom only it would be just, if the thing were practicable, to levy them. A Treasury so managed, will soon restore Credit, and make Trade flourish, and vindicate the Honour of the Nation.

I am sensible that you, and those other great and worthy Patriots, who now compose his Majesty's Ministry, and are placed in high Stations and Offices about him, will find more Difficulty in the Execution of your respective Trusts, in these Times of Commotions and Tumults, than you would otherwise do. But the same Understanding and Spirit, which gave you Ability and Resolution to defeat the Authors of them, when they were in the midst of their Authority, and carrying on their Persecutions against you, and those of your Principles, will make it easie for you to do your Part in suppressing them, now they are in a State of Despair, and acting with all the Folly, Rage, and Madness, that Men in that Condition, and instigated by the Spirit of Rebellion, can be guilty of. And by what we have already seen of the

Conduct of the rest of the present Ministry, not only in the Execution of their several Offices, but in their excellent Administration in general, we assure our selves, that nothing will be too difficult, or hard, for your united Courage and Wisdom.

I know there are not a few, who make it their Business to asperse your Administrations, and to raise Clamours against some Steps you have taken, *viz.* The enlarging the Number of Forces, the suspending the *Act of Habeas Corpus*, the imprisoning several Gentlemen without bringing them to Trial, and the calling over Foreign Troops. But as popular as this Cry is, if any one considers the Circumstances the Nation was in when these things were done, and what has happened since, he must own you could not avoid doing them, without betraying his Majesty to his Enemies, and exposing the Kingdom to an Invasion; which will appear fully by an impartial Examination of the Behaviour and Practices of the Tories since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne.

When

When it pleased God, after suffering these Kingdoms to be afflicted with a *Four Years arbitrary and illegal Administration*, to place his Majesty on the Throne, in *Compassion* to us ; You may remember the poor and vile *Part the Tories* acted, and how soon they forgot their *Royal Mistress*, in whose Life, they pretended so lately, that their and the World's Happiness was bound up. For no sooner was She dead, and the *Parliament* thereupon assembled ; but they had their Consultations and *Cabals*, how to continue *themselves in Authority*. The *Methods* proposed, and taken, were to try if they could outdo the *Whigs* in *Complaisance*, and dutiful and loyal Expressions to King *GEORGE*. All their *Speakers* introduced their *Speeches* with *Encomiums* of his Majesty's *personal Virtues*, and with Declarations of their Loyalty and firm Adherence to his *Interest*, against all *Pretenders* whatsoever. When the present *Speaker* (to his Honour be it said) proposed settling the old *Civil List Fonds* on his Majesty for Life, they were so far

from opposing *the Motion*, that *some of them* openly declared, they thought the Dignity of the Crown could not be supported without adding more Fonds, and making up the Revenue *a Million a Year*. When you proposed paying *the Arrears* due to *the Hanover Troops* in the British Service, *those very Men*, who had but a Month before the *Queen's Death* inveighed bitterly against the *same Motion*, were the *forwardest* in desiring that *Justice* might be done to his Majesty in *that particular*, and blushed not to unsay what they had before affirmed. They likewise came readily into *the Clause* for setting *an Hundred Thousand Pounds* on the Head of *their Pretender*. *Those* who were in *any Offices*, that gave them the least Pretence of writing to *his Majesty*, sent *submissive Letters*, with all the Assurances imaginable of their *Duty, Loyalty, and God knows what*. *Lord Mar* himself was one of *the earliest* of *them*; *His Letter* is very well exposed by *Sir Richard Steele*, and may serve for an Instance of the *Sincerity and Truth* with *which the rest* dealt with his Majesty, and how much

much they were to be depended upon, and how well they deserved his Favour. They payed servile Visits and Levees to his Ministers here, whom, in the Queen's Time, they had banished from the Court, and treated in a most inhumane Manner, for obeying his Master, and presenting a Memorial against the scandalous Peace they were making.

So they behaved, till his Majesty's arrival in England. But when they perceived, he scorned and despised their *Insincerity* and *Dissimulation*; and resolved to prefer and employ only those, who had in the worst of Times asserted his Interest, and avowed their Zeal for the *Liberty* of their *Country* and the *Protestant Religion*. When they saw he had actually called you, and other great and honourable Persons (whose Characters I shall take the Liberty of attempting by and by) to his Councils, and advanced you to the Stations you so well deserved, then they threw off the Mask all at once, and appeared in their proper Colours, resolving to disturb, and, if possible, to destroy that Government they could not share in. They be-

began to change their Note, to talk as disrespectfully, as they durst, of the King, to whom they had so lately and so greedily Sworn; to insinuate favourable things of the Pretender, whom they had so often and so solemnly abjured; and, in short, to prepare the way for bringing in Popery, and Arbitrary Power, into their native Country, which, on his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, had so certain a Prospect of enjoying as full a Measure of Happiness, as any Nation in any Age had been blessed with.

No Prince was ever received into his Kingdoms with louder Demonstrations of Joy, than his Majesty was by all his Subjects, except only some few, whom he was forced to Discourte-  
nance, for the sake of that Liberty and that Religion he was come to Protect. The generality of the People were transported with the Pleasures they had, in seeing a numerous Royal Family of the Protestant Religion planted amongst them. These Men therefore found it necessary (before they cou'd put the Schemes they were forming in Motion, and make them appear practicable to their Friends abroad) to alter this good  
Op-

Opinion the People had conceived of the Government, to turn their present Satisfaction into Murmurs and Complaints, and to raise Commotions. To effect which, they sent their Emissaries and Incendiaries into the several Countries of the Kingdom, (into some, on my own Knowledge) to spread false Reports, and to cast villainous Reflections on the Government, and to mislead and poyson the Minds of the People. They ordered their High-flying Passive Obedience Clergy, the Sacheverell's, the Welton's, and Boutefeus of the Church, to preach Resistance and Rebellion. But that which they laboured most, was the publishing every Day some scurrilous Ballad, Lampoon or Pamphlet, which were levelled not only against the Ministry, but against the Person of the King and the Royal Family. The Press so swarmed with them, that, in less than Three Months, some Hundreds were dispersed through the Kingdom : Of which none was more Insolent and more stuffed with Treason, than the Libel, intituled, *Advice to Free-holders*, except *Lesly's Letters*, which have gone a stretch further, and undertaken to represent the Pretender, as a Person of

wonder-

wonderful Accomplishments, of Heroick Courage, and deep Understanding; when all the World knows, and some of his Adherents confess and lament, that he is the very Reverse, a poor, mean-spirited, despicable Thing, and little better than a Coward and an Ideot. A proper Idol for the Party, who are sacrificing themselves to him. But if he was all this Rebel-Priest would have him to be, what is a spurious Issue, and a Popish Outlaw to us?

However, in spight of all their Advices, Artifices, and Lies, there continued so much Virtue in the Majority of the Nation, that (on his Majesty's issuing Writs for calling a New Parliament) there was a good House of Commons returned. Three Parts in Four of the Members were true Friends to his Majesty, and the Constitution.

But so Industrious were these Paracides in their wicked Purposes and unnatural Attempts, that it was not long before they had seduced some poor ignorant Wretches, and stirred up Riots and Tumults in many Places, and had the

the hellish Pleasure to see things tending a little towards Confusion.

At this Time their *Darling*, the late Lord *B-l-gb-ke*, apprehending the Justice of the new *Chosen Parliament*, thought of securing his *Retreat*, and flying into *France*. They *embraced the Occasion*, made him their *Ambassador* to the *Pretender*, and gave him full Powers to *Recognize the abjured Out-Law*, as their *Lawful Sovereign*: He was to magnify the *Commotions* here, and to assure him of *Success*, if he would *In-vade* these Kingdoms. He was to *Negotiate* with the *King of France* to assist in (what they impudently called) a *Re-stauration*, and you know his *Negotiations* on that *Subject* went too successfully on, during that *Prince's Life*, notwithstanding he had, by the *Treaty at Utrecht*, bound himself to banish the *Pretender out of his Dominions*, and never to assist him in his *false Claims to these Nations*; which shews plainly, that there were some *secret Articles* in that *scandalous Treaty*, which were probably settled betwixt that *King* and this *Gentleman*, when he was sent to *Versails*, during the *Transaction of the Peace*; and which,

if Providence had not prevented, were to take Place in due Time.

Whilst he was acting this Part *A-broad*, the *Faction* here carried on Correspondencies with him, and were doing all they could here to distress and overthrow the Government. Their *Leaders* in the *House of Commons* were now grown hardened, and were not ashamed to contradict in a succeeding *Session*, what they had contended for in a former. They therefore disputed all reasonable Demands for the necessary *Support* of the Kingdom. They were pleased, when it was moved to make the *Civil List Fonds* good only, (what King *William* and Queen *Anne* had) *Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year*, (for, being charged with the *Queen's Debts*, they did not near answer that *Sum*) to forget that they had, in the *short Session* before, proposed a *Million*, and had the Impudence to affirm to us, that *Four Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly* was more than enough to Maintain all the Expences necessary for the *Honour and Dignity of the Crown*, tho' the *Prince of Wales* wanted an *Establishment* for his *Family*; and those, who

who were able to speak, contended in a most violent and indecent Manner against it. They opposed the *Articles of Impeachment*, and justified all the late *Ministry* had done.

The *Causes and Grounds of these Proceedings* were observed and well understood by those who were of the *Helm here*, and the *Transactions Abroad* were as carefully watched there. At length *Matters* grew to an Head, and the *Pretender* began to entertain *Thoughts of an Invasion*. *His Majesty*, who had constant *Intelligence* of every thing, acquainted the *Parliament* with the *State of Affairs*. Whereupon the *Augmentation of the Forces*, and the *Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act*, were thought absolutely necessary for the *publick Safety*. However, their *Leaders in our House* (who, as I said before, had undertaken to *oppose* every thing that was *offered* for the *Service of the Government*,) and had the *Affurance* to talk warmly of the *Breach of our Liberties*, of the *Miseries of Standing Armies*; and to affirm, that *his Majesty's solemn Message* was only a *Trick of the Ministry*, to make

themselves *Absolute*; though they were not only *Privy* to what was *attempting* Abroad, and had given *Encouragement* to all; but were at this very Time sending the late Duke of O--m--d after their Lord *B--l--gb--ke*, in order to put himself at the Head of the Invasion, which no doubt had been *attempted* on his arrival in *France*, if the *French King* had not died. For *Lord Mar* (not hearing of that King's Death) just then commenced his *Insurrection in Scotland*; and 'tis natural to believe, that the *Rebellion* was to be carried on in both Kingdoms at the same Time, and in the same Manner.

You know this, and a great deal more, to be true. And the *open Rebellion* now on Foot, stops the Mouths of *those*, who (that they might be the less observed, and go on the more securely in their *destructive Designs*) had so long and so positively denied every thing. I should not have stated the *Facts* so particularly, but that I think it is the best Account can be given of the wise *Precautions* of

of the Ministry, and the best Answer to the unreasonable and scandalous Complaints of their *Enemies*. I assure you, the Country bless your Councils, for doing what you have done. They are convinced, that the *Measures taken* were the only Measures that could effectually prevent the *Mischiefs* which were *hatching*, and restrain the *Madness* and *Impiety* of those, who were labouring to involve their native Country in a *Civil War*; of all *Evils*, which can happen to any State, the *worst*.

If there has been any *Fault* in the *Ministry*, it is their *Clemency* in apprehending so *very few*, when they know there are so *many* concerned in the present *Conspiracy* and horrid *Association* against the *best and mildest of Princes*. For let them assign any *one Step* that his Majesty hath taken towards the *Infringement* of the *settled and legal Constitution* in *Church or State*, as their *indefeasible hereditary Right Princes always did*; and then I will agree, that they have *some Plea* for their *Treason and Rebellion*. But since they cannot alledge any *one Instance* of this kind, and

and must acknowledge that he is doing all that *a good Prince* can, for preserving the *Rights and Liberties of both*; It is no hard Censure to say, they ought to have the Curses of the *true Lovers of Great Britain*, and that they all deserve the Fate *some of them* have already met with at *Preston*, and at *Dumblain*.

And it cannot but be a great Satisfaction to *his Majesty*, and those who have the Honour to serve him, to see the zealous Representations of the *Bishops and Clergy* against their *unchristian Proceedings*, and the *Courage and Resolution* of the *Nobility and Gentry*, who are every where, in their *respective Counties*, exerting themselves, and making *voluntary Associations* to defend *his Majesty*.

But the Happiness we enjoy, and the Security we may depend upon, will better appear by a *particular View* of the *personal Qualifications* of the *present Ministry*, than by a *general State* of their *Administration*. Thus then they stand in the *Opinion, and Esteem* of the *World*.

The

The Duke of Marlborough must be owned, by his *bitterest Enemies* and *Persecutors*, to be one of the most *consummate Generals and Statesmen* of this Age. He hath convinced all Mankind, that he is *the first*, by his *unparalleled Conduct, and glorious and repeated Victories in the late War*. He hath shewn himself to be *the Second*, by his *happy Negotiations* with almost all the *Courts and States in Europe*, whose *Policies and Interests* he *perfectly understands*. Nor has he less Knowledge of the Temper, Disposition, and Genius of his own *Country*. He hath seen the *Workings, Intrigues, and Principles of both Parties*, and hath placed himself at the Head of *that* which he found acted on *Notions most agreeable to the Dignity of humane Nature, and the true Ends of Government*. No Man was ever better qualified to serve his Prince and Country, and no Man ever had the Happiness to serve them both in a greater Degree than he has done, which would have made any Nation, but *ours*, proud, that so *great a Personage* had been amongst them, and which, in Spight of

En-

Envy and Ingratitude, will convey his Name with Lustre to Posterity.

The Earl of Nottingham was once the *Idol of the Tories*, and extolled to the Skies by them for his *eminent Abilities*. No doubt he was the *Ornament of their Party*, and was allowed, even by those, who had not the Happiness and Honour to act with him, to be a Person of *universal Abilities*, and to be perfectly skilled in the *Constitution* of his *own Country*, and deeply read in the *Laws* of *other Nations*. But as soon as he found the *late Ministry* were entering into *Measures*, that would necessarily introduce *Popery and arbitrary Power*, he declared not only against them personally, but against all the *Tories*, that should concur with them ; and employed all his *Talents*, especially that *distinguished Eloquence*, which is inherent to his *Family*, in exposing their *destructive Proceedings*, and laying open the *Villany* of the *Peace*, which they were then clandestinely and meanly carrying on. This *noble Stand*, as it was the *Result* of a steddy, immovable *Virtue*, so it ought to be remembred to his *eternal Honour*

nour, and especially when it is known, that (if he had not preferred the *pub-lick Welfare* to his own *private Advantage*) he was at this Time offered every thing. But he rejected all their *Sollicitations* and *Offers* with Scorn, and laughed at the *Calumnies* and *Aspersions* they endeavoured to cast upon him, when he had rejected them. What is said of this noble Lord, is, in a great Measure, due to his Brother the *Earl of Ailsford*.

There needs no other Proof of *Lord Cowper's Abilities*, than that he was made *Lord High Chancellor*, and a Peer of *Great Britain*, for his early Eminence in Practice and Learning, when he was but *Forty Years* of Age. He continues to discharge *his high Trust* with that universal Reputation he at first undertook it; and certainly Justice was never more equally administred. He delivers his *Decrees* with that Address and obliging Manner, with that Care and Condescension to explain the Reason and Equity on which they are grounded, that (I am told by some of the *chief Practisers* at his Bar) few depart from his Court, even those, a-

E      *gainst*

gainst whom he determines, without entire Satisfaction, at least without Conviction, that he had done what became an upright and able Judge. He shewed his *Contempt of Money*, when he first accepted the Great Seal, by a generous Refusal of the customary *New-Year's Gifts* from the Lawyers, which amounted Annually to a considerable *Sum*, and which had been constantly expected, and greedily received, for many Ages, by his *Predecessors*. He not only understands the whole Science and Mystery of the Law, but hath a clear Conception of the whole Frame and Policy of our Government, as appears by his *fine way of Debating* in the House of Lords.

The Duke of Argyle is a most accomplished Gentleman. Tho' but young, he hath had great Experience in all kinds of Businels, and is a Master of it at an Age, when others of his Birth and Rank only begin to think of turning their Thoughts that way. He is happy in extraordinary natural Endowments, in a quick Apprehension, a lively Imagination, a solid Judgment, a Grandeur of Soul, and an undaunted Cou-

Courage, which equally qualifie him for the *Camp* and the *Cabinet*. His Appearances, till the *last Session*, had been chiefly in the *military Way*; but then he convinced his Opponents, that he could *debate*, as well as *fight*; that his *good Sense* and *Sprightliness* of *Understanding* in the *House of Lords*, or at the *Council-Board*, were not inferior to his *Activity* and *Bravery* in the *Field*. In his private Capacity, he is a strict Observer of his Word, and a fast Friend, where he professes Friendship; which procures him the Love and Esteem of those who have the Honour to know him, and occasion to make use of his Interest. Nothing can add to his Character; but the Conduct he is shewing in *Scotland*, and the Glory he will reap by confounding the *audacious Attempts* of the *Rebels* there; which must further endear him to his Prince and his Country, and increase his Fame and Reputation.

The *Earl of Islay's bleeding Wounds* are a *fresh Instance* of his *ardent Love* and *unbounded Zeal* for his Country, and a *new Proof*, that he is in *Valour*, as in every thing else, a *Brother to*

the *Duke of Argyle*, and of the *Blood of Campbell*, which has made so many noble *Struggles* for keeping *Tyranny* out of *Scotland*, and rescuing the *Constitution* of that Kingdom out of the Hands of its *Oppressors*.

The *Earl of Sunderland*'s firm Adherence to the *Principles of the Revolution*, and *Zeal against Popery and Slavery*. His constant Opposition to *Harley's wicked Designs*, and his Success in forcing him once out of the late *Queen's Councils*, (tho' She afterwards returned to her *Potion*, and a bitter one it was) justly entitle him to his *Majesty's Favour*, and a Seat in the Ministry, not only for his own Sake, but for the *publick Service*.

The *Earl of Orford*'s long Experience in *Maritime Affairs*, and the many *signal Victories* he got at Sea, in the Time of *King William*, make every true Englishman rejoice, that his present Majesty *King George* hath put the chief Direction of the *Admiralty* into his Hands.

*Lord*

Lord Townshend shewed his Qualifications for the important Post he is now in, when he was *Plenipotentiary in Holland*, and negotiated the *Treaty of Barrier*; for which, to his Glory I mention it, he was censured by the late Ministry, and their slavish Parliament, who meant to expose *England* to the Invasion we now see carried on, and for which he deserves the Applause and Thanks of all good Men, who mean better things to their Country. For by this Treaty he not only provided against a Danger which he foresaw would some Time or other happen, and which is now happened, but he fixed a perpetual Amity with our best and most natural Allies, the States General; as they are like us a free People, and of the Protestant Perswasion. He acquired so great a Reputation during his Residence in *Holland*, by his Dexterity in Business, and his Zeal for the Protestant Interest in *Europe*, that he cultivated a very great Friendship, and kept up a strict Correspondence from the Time of his being displaced by the late Queen, to his Majesty's Accession, with the chief Ministers there; which,

I suppose, was the Reason he chose the Northern Province when he was made Secretary of State; and the ready compliance of the *Dutch* with the *Terms* and *Conditions* of his *Treaty*, shews that he hath executed that Province with the *Success* which was expected from him. He so entirely dedicates himself to the Business of *his Office*, (which, in this *extraordinary Juncture*, is *double*, both *at Home* and *Abroad*, to what it would otherwise be) that it is not easy to say, whether his *Capacity*, or *Industry* in his *Dispatches* of all Kinds, is the more conspicuous: But certain it is, that in this *grand Crisis*, the Publick hourly receives the Benefit of both.

As the *Northern Province* was allotted to *Lord Townshend*, for his Knowledge of the *Dutch Affairs*; so the *Southern Province* was put under the Care of *Mr. Stanhope*, for his exquisite Knowledge of the Genius, and Temper, and Policy of the *Spanish Court* and *Nation*. His Qualifications for this, or any other Post in the Ministry, no Man can dispute. His Accomplishments and Virtues are unquestioned. He hath the  
Ad-

Advantage of very great natural Parts, and of universal Learning. There are few Gentlemen who have applyed themselves so much to the Knowledge of *Men*, and *publick Affairs*, as he has done, that have had Leisure and Inclination to acquaint themselves so thoroughly and perfectly with *Books* of all sorts of polite and useful Learning, and with the *Antient*, as well as *Modern Languages*. These *Advantages* enabled him formerly to discharge many *great Employments*, *Civil* and *Military*, with Reputation to himself, and Service to his Country. And these *Advantages* enable him *now* to be as eminently useful to his Majesty, and as great a *Minister*, as any he hath about him. But those *Principles* of *Honour*, *Truth*, and *Justice*, by which he directs himself, and which he observes to a Nicety in all his Dealings with Mankind, are more Valuable, and of truer Esteem in the Eyes of good Men, than even his *great Abilities* and *Qualifications*. He is a warm, vigorous, and affecting Speaker in the *House of Commons*, and a thoughtful, composed and judicious Councillor in the *Cabinet*: He hath that true Spirit of a *Patriot* in him, that

that (I believe from my Conscience) he prefers the Preservation of the Liberties of Mankind, and the Defence of his Fellow Subjects from Tyranny, and arbitrary Power, to any other human Consideration whatsoever.

I must not here omit doing Justice to Mr. Compton, the *honourable Person*, who worthily fills *the Chair of our House*, and acquits himself with a Knowledge and Behaviour Superior to any who have ever sat in that Place. His *late Speech* to the Throne, which we have ordered to be inserted in *our Journals*, will be a standing Monument of his *Abilities in Speaking*; and it would be ridiculous in me to pretend to tell you how Expert and Skilful he is in all the *Duties of the Chair*, and in all the *Orders, Rules and Methods of Parliamentary Proceedings*.

Though Mr. Poultny hath not had long Experience in the House of Commons, yet he is already a *most Excellent Speaker*. He seems to imitate *your happy Manner* of arguing, and expresses himself on all Occasions and Subjects with that *Wit and Sprightliness*, with  
to

so much good Sense and strength of Argument and justness of Observation, that, you must give me leave to say, he is only exceeded by Mr. Walpole. This Gentleman's Fortunes are large, and so is his spirit; for he serves his Majesty for the Honour of serving him, and not for the Profit of his Place, having remitted half the Salary belonging to him, as Secretary of War. 'Tis to be wished, that the same Motive induced all Gentlemen to accept publick Imployments, whose Circumstances will permit it; but 'tis very reasonable, Allowances should be made to others, whose Circumstances will not. He is a Man of Honour and Integrity, and wants only Years to qualify him to be a Minister of State.

Mr. Lechmere is one of the most Eloquent and Ornamental Debaters we have. He is a Man of excellent Parts, and hath acquired so happy a Talent by his constant pleading at the Bar, that he is never at a loss, to manage his Arguments with the utmost Skill, and to cloath his Thoughts in the most proper Language and beautiful Expressions. He delivers himself with great Ease and Fluency, and yet with such

Force and Vigour, that one is always very much affected and influenced with what he says. By the Advantage of his *Profession*, he hath a perfect Knowledge of our *Constitution*; and by his Application to the Business of Parliament, he seems as well skilled in the *Policies of the Government*. There is no Subject he is a Stranger to, and few *Lawyers* have been able to make so shining a Figure in the House of Commons, as he has done.

Mr. *Aislaby* is a good and useful Speaker; he urges his Arguments (that are generally very close and pertinent) with great *Fire and Spirit*, which is the best way of debating in large popular *Assemblies*. He is remarkable for turning other Mens Speeches upon them, and always does it with great Wit and Sharpness.

Mr. *Boscawen's* Frankness and Zeal, in declaring on all Occasions his *honest Principles and Intentions*, merits Commendation, and justly gives him an Influence in the House. Besides, this Gentleman's great *Estate*, and Interest in the *Western Parts*, make him very Serviceable

viseable to his Majesty's Affairs at this Juncture.

But, Sir, we have not more Security from the Abilities and Virtues of the Persons, whose *Characters* I have presumed to state, just as they appear, and are recorded in the World, than from the Inabilities, Defects, and Vices of those that oppose them in their Administration; which will likewise appear, by a short View of the *Leaders* of the *Tory Faction*.

I begin with the late *Duke of O*— It is true, he is descended of a *noble and illustrious Family*, and is himself a *well-natured, easie Man*. But the two Qualities of *Courage* and *Generosity*, (the only two, I think, they talk of) which his *Party* seem to admire in him, and for which they have lifted him up as an *Idol* to the *Mob*, they will be found, if rightly examined, to have nothing extraordinary in them. As for the *First*, if it be not crowned with *Conduct*, which is always the Result of *good Sense*, (and that, I think, is what he does not much pretend to) it will never make a *Man* a *General*. *Cou-*

rage without *Conduct* is no more than is absolutely necessary in a *common Soldier*; and if he be defective in this Point, he is *shot to Death*, or *cashiered* with *Disgrace*. 'Tis a *Quality* in the Army, that is no great Addition to a Man's *Character*, because every one is supposed to have it; but the Want of it is, the highest *Blemish*; so that it is at best but a *negative Commendation*. As to the *Second*, when you consider how he has *squandered a vast Estate*, not less than Thirty Thousand Pounds a Year, in a short Time, you will agree with me, that his pretended *Generosity* has been downright *Prodigality* and *Profuseness*. 'Tis notorious, that he hath suffered himself, like a weak and vain Man, to be *cheated* in the grossest Manner by his *Stewards*, and *devoured* by his *Servants* and *Dependants*. What Money came to his own Hands, was always scattered about him without Judgment or Distinction. *Flatterers* and *Pimps*, and those who assisted in his Pleasures, shared plentifully of his Bounty; but he never extended it to *Men of Merit*; they were not his Choice, he understood them not. If then he is stripped of

of these two *boasted Accomplishments*, what is become of this great and glorious *Idol of the Tories*? I am sure, what I say of him is from my Heart, and the exact Truth, as far as I am capable of judging and informing my self. I have no ill Will to him, but should really lament the Misfortunes he was drawn into by the late Ministry, if he was not now plunging deeper, and actually engaging in a *most unnatural and horrid Rebellion*.

The late *Lord B——ke* was a Man of *excellent Parts*; but the *great Opinion* he had of them, exposed him to the *grossest Flattery*, and, which is incident to vain Men, made him relish the Praises of those, whose *Understandings* he could not but despise. He was naturally *haughty* and *insolent*, but had nothing of *true Grandeur* in him; for being very defective in Point of Courage, he was forced sometimes, in the Height of his Power, to make mean and pitiful Condescensions; which was to be called *Affability* and *good Humour*. He was indeed of a gay, open Address, and of a pleasant sparkling Conversation, which rendered him very

very entertaining and agreeable in Company, and made him love it so much, that the most constant Companions of his idle Hours were his chief Favourites, and his Friendships therefore could neither be *useful* nor *honourable*. When he was a *Member of the House of Commons*, and at the *Head of the Tories* there, he knew exactly well how to speak to a *Majority*, and gave every thing so agreeable a Turn, and expressed his Thoughts so happily, that he always drew Applauses from his *own Party*, and often *deceived ours*. He had a lively Imagination, a quick Apprehension, a sound Reflection, and a ready Elocution, which are Talents that cannot fail making a Man shine in *Parliament*, and by which he made many of the *scandalous Demands* of the late Ministry appear *plausible* to his *Tools* and *Followers*, and passed them with some sort of Grace through the House. But he was far from making the *same Figure* in his *other Stations*. For tho' he had Capacity enough for Business, he hated it ; tho' he had *Learning*, *Language*, and *Address* sufficient to have made him an accomplished *Secretary of State*, he wanted the main thing, *Application*. He was

was so entirely a *Man of Pleasure*, and so immoderate a *Debauchee*, that he would prefer an *Assignation* of *Whoring* or *Drinking*, to the most urgent *Affairs of the State*, and was oftner to be found in a *Bawdy-house* with his *Pimp* B—— or his *Chaplain* and *Lampoon-writer* Dr. J—— S——t, than at his *Office* with *Foreign Ministers*. He wasted so much of his *Time*, and bent his *Thoughts* so much this way, that it was impossible for him (if his *Parts* had been *Ten Times* more *extraordinary* than they were) to have done the *Business* of a *Secretary of State* any other-  
wise, than a *precipitate, imperfect Manner*, which made him a very unfit *Match* (if he had been inclined to serve his *Country*) for *Monsieur de Torcy*, who was all this while labouring *Night and Day* in the *Interest* of *France*, and was a *thoughtful, crafty, subtle Negotiator*. The *Letters* copied in your *Report* from the *Committee of Secrecy*, are an *undeniable Instance* of the *Truth* of what I say; and surely the *Man* must be *Mad* or *Drunk*, when he *writ some of them*. As his *perpetual propensity* to *Lewdness*, and his *indulging himself* in *Pleasures* of all *Kinds*, and in all *Excesses*, in-  
capaci-

capacitated him for the *Fatigues* and *necessary Labours* of *publick Business*; so the Defect I have mentioned, forced him to decline all the *bold* and *enterprising* *Parts of it*, when he was in *full Authority* and a *Prime Minister*; and, if I am rightly informed, he has writ several *submissive Letters*, wherein he discovers great *Cowardice* and *Pusillanimity*, since he was safe on the *other Side of the Water*. But what he is principally to be condemned for, and for which he is justly attainted by the *Legislative Authority* as a *Traytor*, was his being the *chief Agent* in betraying *his Country* and our *Allies*, by negotiating those *vile Treaties of Peace and Commerce*, and in being one of those *hateful and detestable Councillors*, that advised the stopping the *Career* of the *Duke of Marlborough's Victories*, which, under the Management of *any other Ministry*, would have been a means of effectually humbling *France*, and of procuring all the Advantages that could have been desired, or asked, by *Great-Britain*, for her self, or for any of her *Allies*.

The

The Earl of M——'s Character was formerly put into the best Light it would bear, by Mr. Lockhart, one of his own *Creatures* and *Partisans* : But even that *Jacobite-Traiterous-Memoir-Writer* confesses, that when this *Lord* came first to *Age*, he devoted himself entirely to the *Whiggs* and their *Measures* ; but not long after, for Reasons of meer *Interest*, he opposed them, and that with so much *Art* and *Dissimulation*, that he gained the *Favour* of all the *Tories*, and was by many of them esteemed an *honest Man*, and well inclined to (what he traiterously calls) the *Royal Family* ; certain it is, he vowed and protested so many a *Time*. But no sooner was it for his *Interest*, but he returned, like a *Dog* to his *Vomit*, and again promoted the *Whig-Measures*, which he had so lately opposed with the greatest *Zeal* imaginable. He was a very *Tool*, tho' very frequent, *Speaker* in *Parliament*. But his great *Talent* lay in the *cunning Management* of his *Designs* and *Projects*, in which it was hard to find him out, when he aimed to be

incognito. And thus he shewed himself to be a Man of good Sense, but bad Morals. Since this favourable Account was given of him, he hath added *Perjury* and *Rebellion* to his other *Crimes*, and now the *Cloven Foot* of this *Arch-Rebel* appears without Disguise. For he is in *open Arms* against his *Lawful*, and once acknowledged, *Sovereign*; and is *depopulating*, *burning* and *ravaging* his *Native Country*; not out of *Principle* and *Loyalty* to his *Popish Pretender*; but to gratify his *Rebause* and *Ambition*.

No body will deny, but that the *D. of S—* is, what is called in the Language of the World, a *fine Gentleman*, and fit to grace and adorn a *Court*: But after the many double deceitful Parts he hath acted in Life, both as to his *Religion* and *Politicks*, and especially after coming into the late *pernicious and scandalous Measures*, who can call him an honest Man? What Prince can rely upon him, that means the *Good* of his *People*? Or who can say, that *his Majesty* hath not shewn his *Justice* and *Wisdom* in *dis-*

displacing one, who had concurred in misleading his *Predecessor*, in betraying his Country, and oppressing his *Fellow-Subjects* for *Four Years* together.

The *D. of B*—— from his first appearance in the World, (which was a great while since) hath acted on the *Tory Foot*, and been uniform in his *Political Principles*. His *Parts* were equal to the Management of the most *intricate and important Affairs*. But he was always too much addicted to his *Pleasure*, (which was chiefly that of *Gaming*) ever to delight much in the *fatiguing and troublesome Parts* of *Business*. He therefore, when *his Party* was in *Play*, rather chose *Posts of Honour and Grandeur*, than those that would involve him in the *Depths and Intrigues of the Ministry*: By which means he has generally kept himself out of any *Scrapes* on the *Changes of the Administration*. He is a very *proud Man*, but so *Selfish* and *Covetous*, that notwithstanding his *Quality*, and his *other great Advantages* over

most Men, he hath the *Mortification* neither to be *loved* nor *feared* by any Body, except his own *immediate Dependants*.

I can say nothing of the *E. of S.* but that he hath the Honour to be *impeached* for his *bungling Negotiation* at *Utrecht*, and for being used as a *Tool* to serve the *vile Purposes* of the *worst Ministry* that ever had the Direction of the *Councils of Great-Britain*. You have given us several *Samples* of his *Understanding*, and of his *Skill in Correspondencies*, in *those Letters* of his, which you have put into *your Report*. From whence one may learn, that there is sometimes a great deal of *Pride, Conceit* and *Vanity*, where there is neither good *Sense*, nor good *Manners*, nor any other kind of *Merit*.

The Earl of —— was the *first Man* preferred when the present Lord O——f——d had seized the *Government*, by his *little under-hand Tricks*, and the *Assistance* of a *Chamber-maid*.

I know not much of *this Lord*, and I believe few do. For he hath a *stiff Formality and Reservedness*, that keeps him close, and uncommunicative to every Body. When he was in *Power*, or rather in *Post*, he discovered no *Talents*, except *Silence*, and a *grave Look*, and a *Decorum in Bowing*, which are *good Qualifications*, and set off a *Secretary of State*, when he has nothing else to recommend him. He was so entirely at the Beck of *his Benefactor*, Lord O——d, that he did nothing in *his Office* without *his Direction*. He was hardly trusted in very *weighty Affairs*, at least he was *tame*, or stupid, enough to suffer the late *Lord B——* to invade his *Province*.

*Lord ——* who is *allied* by *Marriage* to the Earl last named, was also allied to him in being a *Tool* and *Slave* to Lord O——d. Soon after the other was made *Secretary of State*, he was, to every Body's great *Surprise*, appointed *one of the Lords of the Treasury*; for his *Merits* and *Qualifications* for *Business* had been *invisible*

sible to all the rest of the World, except to the Man who preferred him, and perhaps his *Obscurity* and *Insufficiency* was his *Recommendation* there. But he was willing, if possible, to deserve his *unexpected Preferment*, and undertook, for a *Session* or two, to be a *Speaker*. and *Manager*. Certainly no Man was ever less qualified for such an *Undertaking*. For he had the most *unhappy Utterance*, and *confused way of Thinking*, I ever knew. However, by the *Weight of Power*, and the *Assistance of others*, he forced the *publick Business* through the *House of Commons* in the same *bungling Manner* his *Patron* did thro' the *House of Lords*, and so, as *Peerage* was then *prostituted*, he was created a *Peer of Great Britain*.

— Appearance in the *House of Commons* much exceeded that he made in *Westminster-Hall*, till he came to be *Council* for that *Incendiary Sach-vereill*, in which Case he acquitted himself with great *Skill* and *Success*. No Man was ever more dextrous in discerning the *Humour* of the *House*, nor

nor could adapt himself more craftily and cunningly to it, and *turn a Debate, and work a Question* which way he pleased. He had a very *pertinent* and *weighty Manner* of Speaking, and by his Knowledge of the *Law*, had great Advantage in Matters relating to the *Constitution*, over those, who *opposed* him without the Benefit of *that Knowledge*. He executed the Office of *L. C.* with great Pains and Industry, and gave general Satisfaction in the *Determination of Causes*. But when he dealt in *State-Affairs*, which his *high Post* obliged him to, by giving him of course *a Seat in the Cabinet*; he was quite *lost*, and *out of his Depth*, being utterly ignorant of *Foreign Languages and Affairs*, which rendered it impossible for him to form any Judgment of the late *vile Negotiations*; and therefore he is never to be forgiven for putting the *G—S—* to them. When *Queen Anne* came to the Throne, he had the Name of a *small Estate*, but in Reality was not worth a *Groat*; and, if he had not been a *Member*, it would have been difficult for him to have secured his

his *Liberty* by his *Practice*. He thought that was a proper Time for him to make his *Fortunes*, which he had long endeavoured to do in *King William's Reign* to no purpose. He therefore applied, in the most *humble, beseeching Manner*, to the *Duke of Marlborough* and *Lord Godolphin*, and they made him *S. G.* by which *profitable Posts* he soon grew rich. But when, to the Misfortune of *their Country*, more than *their own*, they were removed from the *Queen's Councils*, the same *mean Spirit*, which had made him *cringe to them in Power*, made him, as far as he could, *insult them out of it*. He was one of the most *violent Persecutors* they and their Friends had, and so he *qualified himself to be of the late Ministry*. Considering which 'tis not *intelligible* to me, how he comes to find so *much Mercy*, who was never inclined to shew any. But I doubt not in this, as in every thing else, you have *good Reasons* for what you do.

The *B.* of —— from a *little pert Master of Arts of Christ-Churck*,  
is

is arrived at being the *Ecclesiastical General* of the Tories. His Province, I suppose, is on Occasion to lead his *black Army* into the Field, or, which is worse, to give them Dispensations for infusing *Principles of Violence* into the Minds of their *Parishioners*. He entirely neglects the *Duties* of his *sacred Function*, and instead of *preaching* and *practising* the *Doctrines of Peace and Submission*, he *preaches Rebellion*, and *practises Treason*. He is constantly engaged in *one Broil or other*, publick or private: He is either *squabbling* with his *Prebendaries at home*, about his own *Power and Jurisdiction*, or attacking *some Minister of State* in the *House of Lords*, about the *Errors of the Government*, because he has not a Share in the *Conduct* of it. Other *B.* imitate the *Modesty* of their *Predecessors*, and seldom trouble the *House*, unless where *Religion and the Church* is immediately concerned. But he is in at all; no *Debate* escapes him, because he thinks no *Subject* out of his *Knowledge*. He never considers what is proper and decent for a *Clegy-Man* to intermeddle in; but always utters

what is agreeable to his *Pride, Insolence, and Ambition*, with which no Man was ever more plentifully endued. God hath given him great *Abilities*, but he is pleased to employ them too much in the *Service of Satan*; what else is *promoting and encouraging Riots and Tumults, and unhinging a settled Government*? Other *B.* think it their Duty to *promote the Honour and Interest of the Church, by cultivating a good Conscience, and leading a pious and resigned Life.* But this *proud Priest* applies his whole Thoughts, and spends his whole Time, in studying the *Arts, Stratagems, and Intrigues of the World.* He thinks of nothing, but how to *advance himself to the highest Dignity in the Church and State, and finding the Door of Preferment likely to be shut against him, as things now stand, he would be an Instrument of bringing in a Popish or Mahometan Pretender, provided he could be a Cardinal, or a Mufti, when he had contributed to place him on the Throne.* But we despise such an *Incendiary*, whilst the *Church is blest with a Talbot and a Fleetwood, and other Prelates of eminent*

nent Piety and Learning like them.  
Let him be covered with Shame.

Lord L—— is a well-bred, civil, obliging Gentleman, but naturally *indolent*, and *averse to Business*. He hath pretty good *Talents in Poetry*, the Pursuit of which is consistent with *Laziness* and *Luxury*; but *none*, that I ever heard of, in *Politicks*, which is a Scene of *Labour* and *Industry*; he was so far from producing himself in the *House of Commons*, or the *House of Lords*, that it was difficult (as I am told) to get him to attend the *greatest Debates*. How he came to engage so deeply in the *Rebellion* now on Foot, as to *deserve Imprisonment*, you, who are in the *secret of his Majesty's Affairs*, can better guess, than I can. Nor do I know what *substantial Interest* he could propose to bring out of the *Western Counties* (as it is said he undertook to do) now he hath not *one Foot of Land* there, and now most of the *Estate of his Family* is in the Hands of *Lord Carteret*, a young Nobleman of *fine Parts*, and of *very great Expectation*, and of *steady Loyalty*, and firmly attached to *his*

*Majesty's Interest.* All that he can pretend to is, a personal Acquaintance with the Cornish Gentlemen, and he might possibly draw in a few of them, as Sir R——d V——n, who is now in Custody for evil Practices against the Government, and others of the same Stamp and dangerous Principles. Some People have thought, that the publick Assemblies, kept last Session by that Lord's Lady, were intended as Rendezvous for Plotters; but when one considers what sort of Company resorted thither, 'tis rather to be imagined they were set up for Intrigues of another Kind.

Mr. B—— is an old Stager in Parliament, and is esteemed by his Party, as a pertinent, weighty Speaker. They call him a Person of Judgment and Experience, and rely much on his Advice in drawing their Questions, and conducting their Debates, which may be one Reason why they so seldom succeed in them. For, though I must confess he preserves the Dignity of the House, by his grave, solemn way of debating, and never says

says any thing *Indecent*, or that betrays a want of Judgment or Knowledge, yet he is, in my Opinion, a *flat, tedious, heavy Speaker*, that never strikes or moves his *Audience*. He is eternally *appealing to the Journals*, and quoting *Precedents*, which is a *manner of speaking*, that may amuse the young *Fellows*, that are apt to take it for *Parliamentary Learning*: Whereas I have always observed it to be the *Refuge of those Debaters*, who wanted *Invention and Arguments of their own*, to discuss the Point in *Question*. However, his Knowledge of, and Acquaintance with, *these Matters*, made him fill the *Chair* with *tollerable Sufficiency*. But certainly there never was so *partial a Speaker*, and so great a *Slave to a Ministry*, as he was. Whenever they wanted his *Help* (as they often did) to get some *scandalous Thing*, that would not bear the Light, thro' the House, he *served* them to a *Nicety*. A poor *Whigg* could not be *pointed at*, or obtain leave to speak, without standing up Three or *Four Times*, and being *Brow-beat* at last. If his own *Tories* chanced to speak

*unsea-*

unseasonably, or what was disagreeable to the Mind and Desire of the Ministry, they were sure to be reprimanded too, for some Irregularity or other. For this Drudgery, he was made ~~S——y~~ of ~~S——~~ and executed that Post with the same Obsequiousness he had done the other, and went so deep into the late Measures, that, if you are not very Merciful indeed, he may yet expect to hear from the Committee of Secrecy.

Sir Th—— H——— during the late Administration, was by no means a Servant to the Court, as Mr. B—— had been; nor was he at all a violent Party-man. On the contrary, it must be said in his Commendation, that he opposed many of their scandalous Proceedings; particularly the Bill for ratifying the Treaty of Commerce with France, and by his single Opposition confounded it. But this last Session, he hath forgot his Impartiality and affected Candour, and, whatever the Secret is, hath run into all the Follies and Violences of the Party. The few Times he hath spoken, has

has been with an *uncommon Fury*, and he was *hot* enough to *assist* Sir W——  
W——b——m in defending an *insolent Reflection* on the King, which I shall mention when I name that Gentleman's Character. This was the more *ungrateful* in a Man, who had been personally well *used* by his *Majesty*, and is equally unaccountable in him, considering he talked *formerly* of nothing but *the House of Hanover*, and of venturing Life and Fortune for *the Protestant Succession*. He began to speak in the House, when he was *Young*; and his *first Appearances* were so very considerable, that his *Party* had with some Reason entertained Hopes, that he would in Time grow into a *Seymour*, or a *Musgrave*. There was no fault in his *Speeches*, except that they were too *polished* and *correct*, which, however, was not unbecoming a young, and (to do him *Right*) a very *modest Speaker*. He was heard with the greatest *Reverence* and *Attention* by his own Friends, and with *Decency* and *Respect* by ours. But he *continues* just were he *set out*, and his Reputation seems to decline very

very much of late. For though *set, premeditated Discourses* are allowable in a new *Practitioner*; yet they come very unnaturally, and with an ill Grace, from an *experienced Member*, who is supposed to be able to deliver his *Thoughts pro re nata*, and to follow a *Debate* through all its *turnings and windings*, else he will never be of any *Use or Consideration* in *such an Assembly*: Nor is there a more *ridiculous Figure* to be conceived, than to see a *Man*, who hath sat in the *Chair of the House of Commons*, tremble whenever he ventures to rise up there, and not to dare to open his Mouth, till every thing he intends to say is first writ down in a scrap of Paper, and that conveniently lodg'd in the lining of his Hat, that he may every now and then peep upon the *curious Composition*, lest he should forget some *florid Expression*, or *golden Sentence*. But if such an one's Memory should serve him to pronounce the *whole* without Hesitation, and having recourse to this *ingenious Artifice, Repetition* is but a *School-boy's Work*,

Work, and very unfit for a Place of Business, and a Court of Legislature.

Sir *W——m W——m* is a young Gentleman, who was adopted early by the late *Lord B——ke* into the nearest Friendship and Alliance. So impatient was that *then Lord* to make something of him, and to qualify him for being his Fellow-Minister, that he forced him into Places of the greatest Significance before he was Six and Twenty Years Old. At that Age, he had been *Secretary of War*, and was *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and one may imagine how Two such very extensive Employments were discharged by a meer Boy, who was likewise to attend all the *Parties of Pleasure and Revels* at *Greenwich*, or elsewhere, that his *Patron* summoned him to. Sir *W——m*, in return for so much Fondness, made him his *Example*, and the *Pattern* of his Behaviour in the House of Commons. He endeavoured to imitate his way of speaking, and assumed the same *Authority* in his *Deliverance*. But as he performed these *Parts* very awkwardly, and insufficiently, so he was

rather endured, then commended by his own Party; and those, who had less Regard for him, laughed plentifully. However, for want of better Choice, they were forced to make him one of their Leaders and Managers, and this last Session he gained great Reputation amongst them for reflecting on his Majesty's Proclamation for calling a new Parliament, and for persisting obstinately and ridiculously in it when he had done; for which he, and those who supported him in his Folly, (of whom I have named one) would have been expelled, or sent to the Tower, in a less merciful House of Commons; and his Safety, and the mild Censure passed upon him, were owing (as I remember) to your Compassion. He was much elevated with the Compliments which were pay'd him on this Account, and soon began to turn his insolent Speeches into treasonable Practices, to Cabal and Plot with those, or some of them; whose Characters I am describing; and to correspond with his Friend Harry, and others, who were throwing themselves at the Feet of the

the *Pretender*. So he has made his Way to the *Tower*, in spight of the *Clemency of the House of Commons*. But his *Behaviour*, before he got thither, hath occasioned some Talk, and was pretty extraordinary. For I cannot imagine, why a Man should first break his *Parole* and *Word of Honour* with the *Officer*, that apprehended him, without running over to *Mar*, or making his *Escape into France*. Or why he should afterwards *surrender* himself, without doing any thing to deserve the *King's Mercy*, as an *honest* and *prudent Man* ought to do. I have not yet heard it accounted for, either by *Friend* or *Foe*. Perhaps it was only the effect of a *weak, irresolute Temper*.

Mr. *E—— H——* was bred a *Fanatick*, and is in *Inclination* one still: But his *Brother* (the gratifying whose *Ambition* and *Villany* he preferred to every thing, *Religion* and all) hath made him act counter to his *Education* and *Nature*, and hath employed him in the *Service* of a *Popish Pretender* and *arbitrary*

bitrary Power. He seems better qualified to preach in a *Conventicle*, than to harangue in an *House of Commons*. For 'tis nauseous hearing him speak in Favour of *High-Church Principles*, with that *demure, puritanical Visage* and *canting Voice* of his. And yet this Man hath the Assurance to talk of his Firmness to the Interest of his Country and the Protestant Succession.

Mr. A—— M——'s Character is as notorious as Lord O——d's, and cannot, like his, be more known, or detested, than it is. But I must name him, as he was the *great Director* and *Oracle* of the *late Ministry*, especially with relation to the *Treaties of Commerce*; and no wonder they were *such*, when they were left to the Management of one, who had raised himself from a *Foot-man* by the *vilest Arts* and most *scandalous Corruption*, that ever Man was guilty of.

Mr. F—— formerly used to busy himself in the Debates of the House, par-

particularly those that concerned *pub-  
lick Money*. He affected to be thought a *Country Gentleman* and a *Patriot*, and would sometimes oppose the *Malt-Tax* to please his *Free-holders of Hert-  
fordshire*. But being *Covetous*, he squinted mightily towards a Place, and took it ill that he was neither preferred nor made *Speaker* when the *Tories* were uppermost; However, no Man is less a Friend to the *present Establishment*. He was always an *Home-  
spun Speaker*, and at his best, never above the *Second Rate*.

Mr. *W*— hath been long in the House, and intermeddled more than most of *his Profession* in the Business of it; but hath not acquired the Art of pleasing there. He seems indeed to be knowing in the *Law*, and where any Debate arises concerning the *Constitution*, few of *his Party* have truer Notions of it; but then he utters them so very *awkardly*, and abounds so extreamly in *Tauto-  
logy*, that he is insufferably *tedious* and *disgustful* to his Hearers. The  
*late*

late Ministry not answering his *Expectations*, he followed Sir T———  
H———'s Caprice and Humour in opposing them. But this *last Session*, he hath taken a Fancy to *defend* them, and to be a great *Stickler* against the *Impeachments*.

Mr. C——— is a very *constant* and a very *indifferent Speaker*: But had the good Fortune, I may call it, once, to *blunder* out *something*, for which his Friends H——l——y and H——c——t sent him to the *Tower*, and for which they afterwards thought him Worthy to succeed you in the *Office of Treasurer of the Navy*. A Specimen of the *Justice* and *Judgment* of those *Two Men*. He hath endeavoured, as I have good Reason to believe, since his Majesty's arrival, to have kept *that Place* on *any Terms*, and would have come into *any Measures* for it. But being *rejected*, he is as deep in the *Pretender's Interest*, and in the *present Conspiracy*, as any *Papist*, or *Jacobite*, of them all.

Mr.

Mr. C—— was one of those Tools of the late Ministry, the Commissioners of Accounts, whose Merit was to perjure themselves, and to forge *false Accusations* against you and the Duke of Marlborough, and to bespatter every honest Man, who had been in any publick Employment under the Whig Administration. But he was more particularly a *Creature* of the late Lord B——ke's, and, as I am told, was in the next Degree of *Favour* to Sir W—— W——m. He is not in this *House of Commons*; but the *last Parliament* he was the most *active Speaker* of that Side. He undertook the Management of all your *Elective-Causes*, and had his *Share* in every *Debate*. He did not want Talents to make a *Figure* in the House; but he always chose rather to court the *Applause* of his *Companions* and young Fellows, than the *Approbation* of w<sup>ise</sup> and more *considerate Members*. This made him affect little *Turns of Wit*, and (what was intolerable) *personal Reflections*. And he grew so very *scurrilous* at last, that he every Day drew a *Squabble* upon him-

himself for some *rude* and *unmannerly Expression* or other. However, the *Ministry* thought him *considerable* enough for doing their *dirty Work*, if the *Queen* had lived, and the *new Schemes* had gone on, to have made him a *Commissioner of the Treasury*, and then betwixt this *little pert Trifler* and Sir *W*—— the publick Revenue would have been delicately managed. But God be thanked, *those dismal Prospects* are *vanished*, and it is under the *Direction* we have long wished to see it, and, for the *Good of the Nation*, and *your own Honour*, may it long *continue there*.

Mr. *S*—— from *an idle Temple Rake*, that, instead of *studying the Law*, spent his Time in writing *seditionous Pamphlets* and *Poems*, and that hath hardly *Estate* enough to qualifie him to sit in the *House*, is become a *mighty Statesman*, and sets up for opposing the *Ministry*, and governing the *Nation*. *Brave Work!* and a *noble Pitch of Impudence!* He was *another of the infamous and arbitrary Commissioners of Accounts*. But, to do him right, he is

is as pointed and pertinent a Speaker, as any the Tories have. He was the chief Champion this last Session for the impeached Lords, and was the only Man that pretended to enter the Lists with you, Mr. Stanhope, and our other Speakers, with any tolerable Merit or Success. His Abilities indeed are not inconsiderable, but his Principles are virulent and poysenous. He seems ridiculous fond of declaring himself a Jacobite, and an Enemy to the Government. For he seldom rises up, but we have some pompous Stuff about successive Monarchies, and on some Occasion, I remember, he told us plainly, *That the Crown of Great Britain was indefeasibly hereditary, and that he hoped to see it restored to its true and ancient Lustre*; for which incautious and insolent Declaration, he was handsomely reproved in an excellent Speech by Mr. Stanhope. But nothing hath shewn the Temper and Principles of this Man more, than what he did the other Day at the Royal Exchange. There had been a Report spread about the City, that he had discovered a Plot,

K which

which no Body did, or could believe, that knew *his Behaviour in Parliament*, and which, I suppose, might first be raised out of a *Jeſt*, or by some *Miſtake*. However, he was so nettled at the least Imputation of deferting the *Pretender's Cause*, which he had so strenuously and boldly asserted, or of doing any Service to the present Government, that he went to the *Royal Exchange* at an Hour, when it was most crowded, and expos'd himself more than an Enemy could have wished, by swaggering like a *Bravo*, amongst the *Merchants*, and poſting up an *arrogant Manifesto* with his own Hand, declaring, in Effect, his firm *Adherence to Jacobitism*, at a Time when any other Man would have been glad of ſuch an Opportunity to have renounced it. For this *Behaviour*, he deserved to have been ſecured; but tho' he hath hitherto *escaped*, let him beware he does not at laſt meet with the *condign Punishment* of his *rebellious Principles*. *Forbearance of Justice* is no *Acquittal*.

Sir

Sir *J. P*— who has so lately been *discharged from his Confinement* by the great *Clemency of the Government*, was always an *avowed and profess'd J*— Tho' he hath been long a *Member*, he hath been wholly negligent of the *common and ordinary Business* of the House. But he was an *occasional Speaker*, and never failed, once a Year, when the *Whiggs* had the *Ministry in their Hands*, to give us a *thundering Oration* full of *Common-Place Invectives*, and beaten and trite *Arguments against evil Counsellors*.

Sir *W*— *W*— and Mr. *H*— are as *Eminent in their Way*, as any *Two Persons* I have named, and *deserve* as well from *their Party*. For they are *constant Opponents* to every *thing* you offer, without understanding it. The *old Gentleman*, after being educated a *Presbyterian*, and continuing a *Whigg* for *Seventy Years*, *cries No* to the *Court*, and *swears for the Church*, and is a *right special Jacobite*, and a *worthy*

Representative of the famous *V*—  
of *O*— The other, from being a little, poor, pitiful Irish Petty-fogger, and after being detected in a Thousand Knaveries in his Profession, makes a very good *Tory-Patriot*. He is one of those *Buffoons*, who have helped to sink the *Dignity of your Debates*. For when *Matters* of the highest *Consequence and Moment* are under Consideration, which ought to be handled with *Solidity and Seriousness*; such a *Fellow*, who cannot Argue and Reason closely, turns every thing to a *Jest*, and trifles away the Time of the House with *impertinent Stories and ridiculous Allusions*, nothing to the *purpose*. And yet his *Party* frequently vouchsafe him *Hearbims* for what he always ought to be reprimanded, and for what he sometimes deserves *Expulsion*.

There are *Three Lords*, viz. the *Earls of S*— and *J*— and *Lord D*— and several *Gentlemen of the House of Commons*, besides *Sir W*— *W*— and *Sir*

Sir *J. P*— *viz.* Sir *C*— *B*—  
 Sir *W*— *C*— Sir *J.*  
*B*— Mr. *H*— *A*— *For-*  
*ster*, and *K*— who are, or  
 were ordered to be, apprehended. But  
 I have little *Knowledge* of their *Cha-*  
*racters*, and all I can say of them  
 is, that it is very unhappy the *first*,  
 or at least the *chief*, Appearance they  
 have made in the *World*, should be  
 on a *Suspicion* and *Charge* of *High*  
*Treason*. One of them has indeed  
 shewn some *Remorse* for his *Guilt*, by  
 endeavouring to *punish* himself with  
 his *own Hands*. But another has car-  
 ried his *Treason* into *Rebellion*, and  
 was the pretended *General* of those  
*vile Miscreants* who were defeated  
 at *Preston*. There are likewise a great  
 many other *Persons* of *Note* and *Di-*  
*stinction* taken into *Custody*; but they  
 are generally *Papists*, or *Nonjurors*,  
 and nothing better could be expe-  
 cted from them.

Thus, Sir, I have gone through  
 the *Characters* of those, who are gene-  
 rally called, and would be esteemed,  
 the *chief Managers* of the *Tory Fa-*  
*ction*.

*ction.* There may be others, who think themselves altogether as *considerable*, and may be so. But they are either such, whose *personal Qualifications* I am wholly unacquainted with, and cannot therefore pretend to *describe*. Or such, as have not entered so furiously into all the *violent Measures* of the *Party*, and therefore ought not to be put into so *bad Company*.

Here are *Instances*, more than enough, of the *detestable Principles and Practices of this Faction*, and, God forbid, we should ever see it *predominant* again in *Great-Britain*. We have no Apprehension, but that the *timely and effectual Suppression* of the *present Rebellion* will prevent their ever making any such a *flagitious Attempt* for the future. And it is a *Comfort* to us, who are Friends to the Government, that our *Security* cannot be attributed to *Chance*, or any *accidental Discovery*, but (next to the *good Providence of God*) to the *great Care and Vigilance* of the *Ministry at Home*, and to the *indefatigable*

fatigable Industry and well-managed Intelligence of the Earl of Stair A-broad, whose successful Negotiations in France, at this Juncture, can never be too much rewarded. He hath given ample Proofs that he inherits the bright Parts of his Family, and that he is the Representative of the great Earl of Stair, and the Nephew of Sir Hugh and Sir David Dalrymple. It was to the consummate Abilities of the Father, that we, in a great Measure, owed the Union, and in that the happy Settlement of the Crown of Scotland on his Majesty King George. And it is (as I said) to the successful Negotiations of the Son, (in whom the same Abilities Survive) that we, in part, owe the Detection and Confusion of those impious Schemes which were laid to dissolve that Union, and to bring both Kingdoms to utter Ruine.

I expect, when this Letter is published, that it will be said, I have flattered one Side, and vilified the Other; and I think I should have been pardonable, if I had endeavoured to speak advantageously of those, who, I am  
con-

convinced in my Conscience, are labouring to *serve their Country*; and if I had used some Asperity and Harshness towards those, who, I am convinced, are (as far as in them lies) labouring to *ruine it*. But I protest, I have framed the most *impartial Character* I could of every Man, on *both Sides*; and I assure you, I have taken it, not so much from my own *Knowledge* and *Observation*, as from the *Information* and general *Sense* of others.

18 JA 53

Sir,

I am,

Nov. 15.  
1715.

Yours, &amp;c.



